

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O 231757Z MAY 75

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9741

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 13228

EXDIS

NESCO

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, OCON, UNESCO, US, IS

SUBJECT: UNESCO 97TH EXBD: ITEM 4.1.1: FINAL

PLENARY ACTION ON MEDITERRANEAN MEETINGS

SUMMARY: ANTICIPATED EXECUTIVE BOARD VOTE APPROVING RESOLUTIONS FOR MEETINGS CONCERNING CONVENTION ON DIPLOMA-DEGREE EQUIVALENCIES AMONG EUROPEAN AND ARAB MEDITERRANEAN STATES, WAS NOTABLE FOR EXCHANGES BETWEEN ISRAELI OBSERVER PRESENT AND DG M'BOW, IN WHICH ISRAELIS FAILED TO RESPOND TO DIRECT REQUEST BY M'BOW TO STATE CLEARLY WHETHER OR NOT ISRAELIS WISHED TO BE INVITED TO THESE MEETINGS. ISRAELI-M'BOW REMARKS BROUGHT INTO SHARP FOCUS BACKGROUND ISSUES OF UNESCO-ISRAELI CONTROVERSY AS A WHOLE -- ISRAELI ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE IMPORTANT NUANCE BETWEEN NON-INCLUSION IN MEETINGS AS OPPOSED TO "EXCLUSION," PRESS CRITICISMS OF UNESCO AND "POLITICIZATION" -- AND PERCEPTIONS ATTACHED TO THIS MEETING, REMARKS WHICH AT ONE POINT THREATENED TO PRODUCE A CONFRONTATION. NEVERTHELESS, ISRAELIS AND M'BOW CONCLUDED BY APPARENTLY SINCERE RESPECTIVE COMMITMENTS TO "DIALOGUE." SESSION ON THIS ISSUE HELD OUT PROMISE, IF NOT ANY CERTAINTY, THAT RECIPROCAL EFFORTS AT CONCILIATION MAY BE UNDERTAKEN SERIOUSLY.

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1. FINAL PLENARY ACTION ON RESOLUTIONS AUTHORIZING MEETINGS AND LIST OF PARTICIPANTS FOR PREPARATION IN 1975 OF A GOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE TO CONSIDER IN 1976 A DIPLOMA-DEGREE EQUIVALENCIES CONVENTION AMONG MEDITERRANEAN EUROPEAN AND ARAB STATES, WAS TAKEN BY THE BOARD ON THE EVENING OF MAY 22. FINAL VOTES ON THE PREPARATORY EXPERTS MEETING AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE WERE RESPECTIVELY 28-1 (US)-3 (NORWAY, URUGUAY, COLOMBIA) AND 29-1 (US)-3 (SAME ABSTENTIONS). WHILE URUGUAY AND COLOMBIA JOINED NORWAY WHICH HAD BEEN SINGLE ABSTAINING BOARD MEMBER AT MAY 9 PROGRAM COMMISSION VOTE, ALL OF WEO'S ON BOARD (AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, FRANCE, FRG, ITALY AND UK) AS WELL AS AUSTRALIA, WERE CONSISTENT WITH THEIR MAY 9 VOTES IN FAVOR.

2. PREPARED US STATEMENT (SENT SEPTTEL) ON EXPLANATION OF VOTE BY PERMREP JONES WAS FIRST TO BE MADE AND WAS FOLLOWED WITH EXPLANATIONS BY BELGIUM, EGYPT, FRANCE, ITALY, UK, FRG, URUGUAY, AUSTRALIA, DAHOMEY. FOREGOING WEO'S AND AUSTRALIA GENERALLY EXPLAINED FAVORABLE VOTES ON BASIS OF PROVIDING SECRETARIAT WITH NECESSARY "TECHNICAL" AUTHORIZATION TO PROCEED WITH MEETINGS BUT VARIOUSLY EXPRESSING "REGRET" AT ISRAELI NON-INCLUSION TO SOFTER REAFFIRMATION OF BELIEF THAT ALL MEMBER STATES ENTITLED TO FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN UNESCO ACTIVITIES. THE EGYPTIAN EXPLANATION REITERATED, BY REFERENCE TO HIS MAY 9 REMARKS, THAT EGYPT NOT OPPOSED TO BILATERAL CONVENTION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BUT STATED THESE PARTICULAR MEETINGS WERE MULTILATERAL, INVOLVED ONLY CERTAIN MEDITERRANEAN STATES, WERE NOT ACTIVITIES OF THE EUROPEAN REGIONAL GROUP, AND MADE SINGLE SENTENCE STATEMENT "DEPLORING ATTEMPT MADE TO EXPLOIT RESOLUTIONS FOR PURELY POLITICAL REASONS."

3. HOWEVER, BOARD CONSIDERATIONS IN FACT MOST NOTABLE FOR STATEMENTS BEFORE VOTES BY ISRAELIS--WHO PRESENT AS OBSERVERS IN ACCORDANCE CONSISTENT BOARD PRACTICE WHENEVER ARAB-ISRAELI ISSUES HAVE ARISEN--AND RESPONSE OF DG M'BOW. MADAM LAMBERT SPEAKING FOR GOI, MADE CONFIDENTIAL

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STRONG STATEMENT (TEXT NOT YET AVAILABLE) WHICH (A) EXPRESSED ISRAELI EXPECTATION TO BE INVITED TO THESE MEETINGS ON GROUNDS ISRAELI UNDERSTANDING THAT SIGNATORIES TO EUROPEAN DIPLOMA-DEGREE CONVENTIONS OF 1953, 1956 OR 1959 WOULD PARTICIPATE, IN ADDITION TO SIGNATORIES OF CORRESPONDING ARAB STATES CONVENTIONS, BUT EMOTIONALLY CONCLUDED WITH WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN LAST-MINUTE EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS THAT AT A TIME WHEN

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(B) //NESCO SHOULD AVOID FURTHER "POLITICIZATION;"  
(C) ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE AND (D) AVOID ANY FURTHER "DIS-  
CRIMINATORY ACTS" SUCH AS THOSE THAT HAD MARKED THE  
GENERAL CONFERENCE LAST FALL, THE ADOPTION OF THESE  
RESOLUTIONS WOULD BE "COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE" TO FULFILLING  
THE MISSION OF UNESCO AND REALIZATION OF UNESCO'S IDEALS.

4. M'BOW THEN TOOK FLOOR TO MAKE A "SMALL RECTIFICATION"  
RE SUBSTANCE OF LAMBERT'S REMARKS AND SAID CRITERIA FOR  
INVITATIONS TO MEETINGS WERE TIGHTLY DEFINED BY 1972  
EXPERTS PREPARATORY MEETING IN RABAT AND THEREFORE UNESCO  
SECRETARIAT WAS "UNDER OBLIGATION" TO PREPARE NECESSARY  
AUTHORIZING RESOLUTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THESE  
CRITERIA. M'BOW EMPHASIZED, WITH INCREASING FEELING,  
THAT THE GOI HAD NOT PREVIOUSLY NOR HAD IT YET EXPRESSED  
A DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE MEETINGS, AND THAT HE  
DID NOT KNOW IF IN FACT GOI WANTED TO ATTEND. FURTHER,  
HE SAID GOI WAS NOT EXCLUDED FROM THESE MEETINGS, WHICH  
DID NOT ENTAIL A EUROPEAN OR OTHER "REGIONAL CON-  
FERENCE" BUT INVOLVED AN "INTERNATIONAL GROUPING." HE  
DECLARED THAT IF GOI WANTED TO ATTEND THE MEETINGS IT  
SHOULD SAY SO.

5. M'BOW, BY NOW CLEARLY INDIGNANT, ADDRESSED THE  
CHARGE OF UNESCO'S "POLITICIZATION". HE SPECIFICALLY  
RECALLED ISRAELI OBJECTIONS IN 1955 TO THE ADMISSION OF

FRG TO THE UN AND OPPOSITION "ON PURELY POLITICAL  
GROUNDS" OF OTHER UNNAMED MEMBER STATES OVER 20 YEARS  
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TO ENTRY OF PRC INTO UN AND ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES.

6. M'BOW THEN MADE STATEMENT "DEPLORING" RESTRICTIONS  
ON ANY MEMBER STATE'S "FULL RIGHT" TO PARTICIPATION IN  
UNESCO ACTIVITIES--AN IMPLICIT REFERENCE TO 18 GC  
DECISIONS RE ISRAEL--BUT TURNING TO PRESS  
CRITICISM EMPHASIZED THAT A "PRESS CAMPAIGN" WAS NOT THE  
WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OR "OVERCOME OBSTACLES." HE  
CONCLUDED BY STATING HIS WISH FOR "DIALOGUE" WITH  
ISRAEL, REFERRED TO HAVING MADE "MANY EXPRESSIONS OF  
GOOD WILL" TO GOI AND HIS INTENTION TO CONTINUE ON THIS  
COURSE.

7. UPON M'BOW'S CONCLUSION OF HIS REMARKS BOARD  
CHAIRMAN WYNTER SUSPENDED SESSION AT 6:45 FOR DINNER  
BREAK; LIKELY OUT OF CONCERN THAT NOW HIGHLY CHARGED  
ATMOSPHERE MIGHT BE IGNITED BY INTERVENTION FROM ONE OF  
ARAB BOARD MEMBERS (EGYPT, SYRIA AND TUNISIA). BOARD  
RECONVENED AT 9:15 PM BUT ARABS--VERY LIKELY  
AGAIN PRESSED BY M'BOW FOR RESTRAINT--MADE NO MOVE TO  
DELIVER A STATEMENT. HOWEVER, MADAM LAMBERT IMMEDIATELY  
TOOK FLOOR TO MAKE "THREE POINTS OF CLARIFICATION"  
OF DECIDEDLY CONCILIATORY NATURE: (1) AS 1972 REPORT  
BY RABAT PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS FOR MEETINGS  
NOT CIRCULATED TO GOI, ISRAELIS HITHERTO UNAWARE OF  
CRITERIA LIMITING PARTICIPATION AND SHE  
THEREFORE "THANKED" DG FOR THIS INFORMATION; (2)  
MOST NOTABLY, SHE STATED THAT "AT NO TIME DID (SHE) SAY  
ISRAEL WAS EXCLUDED BUT (SHE) HAD SAID ISRAEL WAS  
NOT INCLUDED" IN MEETINGS; AND (3) ISRAEL "ALWAYS  
FAVORED DIALOGUE," ALTHOUGH "DIALOGUE" HAD BEEN "RE-  
FUSED" BY LAST GENERAL CONFERENCE, THEY WOULD BE WILLING  
TO ENTER INTO THIS PROCESS WITH DG M'BOW.

8. FOLLOWING LAMBERT'S REMARKS BOARD VOTED AS REPORTED  
PARA 1 ABOVE, FIRST ON 1975 PREPARATORY EXPERTS MEETING  
AND THEN--AFTER M'BOW NOTED "FOR THE RECORD" THAT GOI  
HAD NOT REQUESTED TO PARTICIPATE IN CONFERENCE--ON 1976  
INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE ON CONVENTION. EXPLANA-  
TIONS FOLLOWED, AS SUMMARIZED PARA 2 ABOVE AND INCLUDED  
DAHOMAYAN "EXPLANATION" BY BOSSIER-PALUN WHO REITERATED  
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M'BOW'S SALIENT POINTS: (A) VOTING ON RESOLUTIONS WAS A PURELY TECHNICAL EXERCISE; (B) ISRAEL HAD NOT EXPRESSED DESIRE TO PARTICIPATE IN MEETINGS; (C) GIVEN DG'S LACK OF AUTHORITY TO DECIDE INVITEES, IT WOULD BE "UNJUST" TO SAY M'BOW HAD BEEN "UNFAIR;" (C) UNDERLINED GROWING ATMOSPHERE SINCE 18 GC OF "COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING," (D) US REMARKS ABOUT TECHNICAL CORRECTNESS OF FORM OF RESOLUTIONS AND THE NEED TO AVOID AMBIGUITY IN ERRONEOUS COMPARISONS OF "UNRELATED SITUATIONS" AND (D) APPROVING REFERENCE TO ISRAELI EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN DIALOGUE.

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9. BOARD CHAIRMAN WYNTER SIMILARLY REFERRED TO LACK OF ISRAELI BID FOR INCLUSION AND THAT MADAM LAMBERT HAD CONCEDED THERE HAD NOT BEEN "EXCLUSION." WYNTER FURTHER STRESSED BELIEF OF BOARD IN "ABSOLUTE EQUALITY OF EVERY MEMBER STATE 'AND BOARD'S' OBJECTIVE IS TO ENABLE EVERY MEMBER STATE TO PARTICIPATE FULLY AND EQUALLY" IN UNESCO ACTIVITIES. M'BOW BRIEFLY INTERVENED TO EXPLAIN THAT HE HAD FELT IT NECESSARY TO PUT QUESTION TO ISRAELIS ON THEIR WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN MEETING AND THAT ALTHOUGH HE COULD NOT HAVE EXTEND INVITATION, MEMBER STATES WHICH COULD HAVE SO MOVED AND EXPRESSED REGRET AT ISRAELI NON-INCLUSION, HAD NOT DONE SO.

10. COMMENT. ABOVE DETAIL PROVIDED BECAUSE THIS MEETING AND RESPECTIVE ISRAELI-M'BOW REMARKS LIKELY TO BE CONSIDERED BY M'BOW AS CLARIFICATION OF FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF UNESCO-ISRAEL CONTROVERSY.

11. OUR ASSESSMENT IS THAT ISRAELIS AND M'BOW IN INITIAL AFTERNOON EXCHANGE (PARAS 4 - 7) ABOUT EQUALLY FLAWED BY EMOTIONAL EXCESS WHICH NEWS MEDIA MAY DISTORT--ESPECIALLY AS M'BOW EXPRESSED FROM HIS VIEWPOINT JUSTIFIABLE BUT WHAT MAY PROVE UNWISE CRITICISM OF ANTI-UNESCO "PRESS CAMPAIGNS". NEVERTHELESS, IN UNESCO MEMBER-STATE CONTEXT, THESE EXCHANGES MAY HAVE CLARIFIED UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT ISSUES THESE MEDITERRANEAN CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETINGS DID AND DID NOT INVOLVE. INDEED, AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, NO-NONSENSE EXCHANGE BETWEEN GOI AND M'BOW WAS CAPPED BY APPARENTLY SINCERE MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO "DIALOGUE." WE AND OTHERS HERE READ LAMBERT'S SECOND INTERVENTION (PARA ABOVE) AS BACK-TRACKING FROM HER PROVOCATIVE INITIAL STATEMENT--WHICH PERHAPS AT ODDS WITH HER INSTRUCTIONS--AND THEREFORE AS PERHAPS INDICATIVE OF SINCERE CONCILIATORY ISRAELI APPROACH.

12. WE ALSO NOTE ARAB NON-REACTION TO ISRAELI INTERVENTIONS. IF BAITING WAS INTENDED, ARABS DID NOT RISE TO IT; LIKELY DUE M'BOW-AFRICAN EFFORTS BUT ALSO POSSIBLE ARAB AWARENESS THAT EUROPEAN REGIONAL ISSUE AND ANYTHING PERCEIVED AS CONNECTED TO IT IN UNESCO HAD PROMPTED MOST VIGOROUS WESTERN CRITICISMS. ARAB "CALM" AT THIS SESSION SUGGESTS POSSIBILITY THEY WILL NOT OPPOSE MORE CONCRETE POSITIVE ACTION ON REGIONAL ISSUE--ALTHOUGH NOT REPEAT NOT JERUSALEM EXCAVATIONS--AT NEXT OR FOLLOWING BOARD SESSION.

13. FINALLY, WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO DRAW ON ABOVE ACCOUNT FOR RESPONSE TO PRESS OR OTHER QUERIES WITH REGARD TO WHAT ACTUALLY OCCURRED AND WAS SAID AT THIS SESSION ON THESE CONFERENCES. IT NOTE-WORTHY THAT WHEN M'BOW DIRECTLY ASKED IF GOI WISHED TO ATTEND MEETINGS ISRAELIS WERE SILENT, DID NOT SEEK US, OR FROM OUR SOUNDINGS, ANY OTHER DELEGATION'S MOTION FOR GOI INVITATION. LIKELIHOOD IS THAT GOI NEVER HAD ANY INTENTION OF ATTENDING THESE MEETINGS WITH ARAB STATES AND WITH PLO IN OBSERVER ROLE BUT SEIZED OPPORTUNITY TO FURTHER GENERATE PRO-ISRAELI SYMPATHY. GOI MAY HAVE REALIZED AFTER BOARD SESSION BEGAIN THAT HARD-LINE STANCE ON UNESCO NOW BECOMING COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW CLEAR

RELUCTANCE OF WEO'S TO COME TO ISRAELI SUPPORT.

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## Message Attributes

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